1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

304 may cause the loop of skin to tear, henceforth preventing the wearing of ear ornaments since they are never used singly. Pąnhí, once taking over a huge burity log from another racer's shoulders while dashing past, suffered this misfortune. He did not notice anything before passing on the log, when the blood was dripping on his shoulder. I have never heard of the Canella healing the torn ear after the fashion of the Apinayé.[300]

301 The ordinary plugs are disks of some light (weight) wood, an inch in thickness
531 and dyed red only on the edge. For a ceremony a thick layer of white clay is put on the face of the earplug, which is mostly decorated with black and red designs. There are ringlike plugs of thick bamboo and also wooden disks with round central holes that are sometimes sufficiently large to suggest rings; at times a corded tassel, dyed red, is inserted. The youth in plate 4, *a* has stuck a bit of tobacco twist into the orifice of his plug, not for magical purposes, but simply because the ceremonial costume precludes the use of a pouch for storage. In other plugs the holes have the form of a Greek or Maltese cross. Very rare are heavy plugs of hardened white clay with violet marble-like veins; I have seen them only from the Rąmkõ'kamekra, the material being apparently restricted to the Serra do Alpercatas in their territory. (Pl. 13, *a*.)

Among the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye I have seen plugs with four little mother-of-pearl disks cemented into the anterior surface. The Rąmkõ'kamekra have such inserts of mirror glass, but only rarely.

From Pụkóbye I obtained a pair of paca incisors said to be insets for earplugs. I have never seen such in use among the Eastern Timbira, but observed them at Apinayé initiations. The ear rosettes of the Karayá also bear this ornamentation.[301]

304 *Labrets; incisors.*—Except for the Western Gaviões the lower lip is no longer
171 perforated by any Eastern Timbira tribe. The Rąmkõ'kamekra told me that until not very long ago the Eastern Gaviões (Pụkóbye) also had perforated lips. In a mixed company of Krahõ' and Apą'nyekra Martius saw the older people wearing labrets in the form of shining cylinders of yellow rosin or alabaster; they were from 1½ to 3 inches in length and could be easily extracted.[302] Since Pohl, who in the same year saw numerous Krahõ', noted only ears perforated,[303] the labret wearers must have been Apą'nyekra, though their present descendants know nothing of such decoration. For the Põrekamekra Pohl explicitly denies perforation of the lip.[304]

Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, Apą'nyekra, and Krahõ' the upper incisors of children of both sexes are very often tapped into pointed form with a knife and a little mallet. The practice is rare among the other Eastern Timbira.

304 The reverse holds for tattooing, which is very rare among the former, but some-
177 what more frequent among the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye. Doubtless borrowed from the Neobrazilians, the decoration as a rule consists merely of a few plain lines or copies of letters on the forearm; it is executed with iron needles and genipa.

386 *Pigments.*—The Canella have five pigments: 1, black, from rubber latex with
● 828 powdered charcoal; 2, red, from urucú seeds; 3, yellow, from the juice of the urucú
519 root; 4, bluish black, from the juice of the genipa fruit; 5, white clay. Of these, the first three are applied both to the body and to objects; the fourth serves only to decorate the body; the fifth, with few exceptions, only for objects.

Red urucú, the most common, at once attracts every visitor's notice by its omni-

[300] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 42.
[301] Krause, In den Wildnissen Brasiliens, 224.
[302] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:819.
[303] Pohl, Reise, 2:211.
[304] *Ibid.*, 2:191.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

presence. The Indian himself and everything he owns are more or less red with urucú. Whatever they take hold of turns red, as does anyone living among them. The urucú stain on an article is not conceived as dirt, but as an embellishment. Any trace of earth on prepared food is removed by scraping and washing, yet no one dreams of attempting this with the imprint of the cook's ten digits. The Indians grow irritated if civilized people voice disparaging comments about the use of urucú; any person or article reeking with the pigment is a thing of beauty. A collection of ethnographica from any Timbira tribe is marked by the varying red, brownish-red, and yellowish-red tints of urucú. Especially when fresh the pigment emits a strong odor which civilized observers identify as "stench," while it delights the Indian's nostrils no less than the red color pleases his eyes. Naturally the odor is attached to the Timbira himself and all his belongings.

In order to have the pigment constantly available the urucú shrub (pų; *Bixa orellana*) is planted beside or behind the dwelling. The red pigment, forming the thin layer of a moist mass, surrounds the seeds in their capsules. The Indians either gather fresh capsules from the shrub according to need or harvest the mature capsules, removing the seeds for storage in gourd bottles, which are plugged with stoppers. More particularly it is the young girls who always keep such bottles suspended by their beds. Men never own them since they are always painted by the other sex. After a while the pigmented mass dries on the seeds; then it is necessary to prepare the coloring matter with the oily juice of babassu seeds. The urucú seeds are poured into the hollow of the hand, the juice of the chewed babassu seeds is expectorated over them, and the mixture is rubbed between the flat palms. The pigment thus produced is removed with the finger or a little rod, either for immediate use or for storage in a little gourd bowl (pl. 14, *m*). These small urucú gourds, suspended from the back by a plaited cord, are the badge of the girl associates (p. 96), whose duty it is to paint the members of their festive organization. The pigment remains visible even after several baths.

Another mode of preparation is derived from the Guajajára: after the washing of the seeds the fluid is condensed by boiling; roundish lumps are molded from the soapy mass; and these are wrapped in leaves or cloth. However, the older generation spurn this innovation because the urucú loses its odor in boiling. Chief Kukrãčą' objected in my presence when his niece wanted to paint him with pigment thus prepared and sent her for fresh capsules.

Urucú is not only beautiful, but also useful, being credited with antiseptic (p. 50) and prophylactic virtues. Going to a pool for my morning bath before daybreak on one occasion, I met my hąpínpey, Čątú, who was about to start on a hunting trip. (See p. 100 f.) He was carrying a gourd bowl with a handful of urucú seeds, which he mixed with water; then he drank the red liquid, declaring it would give him luck in the chase. He insisted on my taking a few drafts; eagerly overruling my objection that I had no intention of going after game, he informed me that that made no difference: urucú was good for *any* purpose, it was impossible to use enough of it. Whenever I obtained urucú for my collection, I was generally admonished to employ it extensively.[38]

As a matter of fact, the effect of the red pigment on the Indian's dark skin is very agreeable, but, on a North European it is too showy. The Ponto women, however, had the contrary impression: unable to understand my wish to rid myself of my coat of urucú from time to time by washing it off with soap, they imagined that I wanted to be quickly and more effectively repainted. A man's kinswomen

[38] Nimuendajú, The Social Structure, 52.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 208 Timbira 208
Ge 525

T 356 412

twigs tied together. Garbage is accumulated on the firefan or an old mat and carried to the border of the steppe, to the rear of the house. However, there are women who are not particular about a little dirt more or less, and who will leave the rinds of fruits and gnawed bones lying about all day long.

T 356 751

The domestic vermin include crickets, cockroaches, small ants, and jiggers. The first two are simply put up with. As for ant nests, the Indians try to destroy them with hot water; and as soon as they become aware of jiggers, they periodically pour water on the floor, which they stamp on till it grows firm. Those which have penetrated the skin are removed with a bone needle—for which at present an iron one may be substituted.

T 264 515

All utensils are rather dirty, for it never occurs to them to clean objects before storage. The clothing that is obligatory on visits to Barra do Corda is subsequently stowed away for one's own or another's future use without attention to the accumulated dirt and perspiration. Dishes are never washed after use, though this is done before again using them. Storage bags and sleeping mats are often filthy, though the latter are washed when the dirt grows too offensive.

T 514

The Indians go to stool in the steppe or in the mallow bushes to the rear of their houses, at an adequate distance. They clean themselves with kerneled maize cobs or with two little sticks broken off on the way. The feces of infants in the house or on the space before it are at once strewn with sand and removed.

T [828]

The Canella are very sensitive as to evil smells, though they do not always perceive the same things as stench as civilized people. As noted, they regard as pleasant the odor of urucú, from which Neobrazilians recoil, and they are strangely indifferent to the odor of the skunk (*Mephitis suffocans*), which to my nostrils is the most horrible to be found in the Timbira country. However, excrements and putrefying matter are intolerable to them and are removed posthaste.

T 827 516

Breaking wind is considered indecorous indoors, but rather a pleasure on the steppe or in the plaza among the younger generation. Indeed, young girls sometimes vie with one another in this respect and try to enhance the effect by hitting their own buttocks with their clenched fists. However, this happens only among themselves, never in the presence of older people.

G T 177 241 114

Farming

It is erroneous to picture the Gê generically as hunters and gatherers, with at best an occasional group adopting a little cultivation under Tupí influence.[139] Actually, not a single Akwẽ or Timbira-Kayapó tribe failed to farm; and as to the latter, at least, I am convinced that they learnt nothing from the Tupí about agriculture. Old travelers sometimes decree that such and such a tribe lived "only by hunting" or even "by robbery only." Thus, Saint-Adolphe alleges that the Apinayé had grown accustomed to a vegetable diet only through the plantations made by the military colony of São João de Araguaya (founded in 1797). He overlooked the passage in which Villa Real—four years prior to the establishment of that colony—urged a treaty of peace with the Apinayé on the ground of their cultivating manioc on a large scale.[140]

T 241 177 114

Following Ribeiro and Pohl, Snethlage states that the Timbira when first in contact with civilization already practiced a well-defined system of tillage and rightly surmises that the four species listed by Ribeiro do not exhaust the number of their crops. At present the Rąmkõ'kamekra plant the following species, which shall be

[139] For a typical expression of this view see Schmidt, Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Südamerika, 1023.

[140] Viagem, 409.

1s: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

754 682 ing his death. Several trustworthy men selected from the number of ever-present would-be executioners unexpectedly club the criminal down either in the plaza or from an ambush on the road. They immediately cut out his eyes or at least blindfold him to deprive the shadow of sight, sometimes they make cross-shaped gashes in the palms of his hands, and then he is interred in a pit without further ceremony. The killers paint themselves with charcoal and go into seclusion for a month.

[578] Suspicion of sorcery almost invariably falls on alien Indians resident in the village, very rarely on a tribesman. Because of this fact I never cease wondering at the temerity of natives who, despite their notoriously mistrustful nature, venture to marry outside their own group. In the exceptional cases a magician apparently charges a tribesman with the death not from jealousy, but rather from fear of being himself accused of sorcery. The Canella told me about a case where this was so obviously true that only the Indians' blind dread of sorcery prevented their recognition of the fact. The accuser in this instance achieved a double success: he got rid of a colleague who, unless forestalled, would probably have prepared the same fate for him; and through the "discovery" of the evil magic which the sorcerer was supposed to have buried in the plaza the accuser gained great esteem for his services.

754 828 In 1903—only a few years after the advent of the Čą'kamekra—a certain Kavų'i of that tribe who had married a Canella woman was killed for sorcery, after having allegedly in the course of a trifling dispute threatened his wife with evil magic. In great alarm she told her relatives; some time after she fell ill and died. Thereupon her relatives on the occasion of a log race killed her husband without ado, without consulting the council or the then chief, Delfino Kôkaipó. Since the latter disapproved of the execution, he obliged the killers to pay wergild to the slain man's kin.

In 1927 the Apą'nyekra suspected Vacca Preta, a Rąmkõ'kamekra living among them, of evil magic, killed him with a gun, and cremated the corpse. Thereupon the three Rąmkõ'kamekra chiefs, accompanied by a number of tribesmen, marched to the Apą'nyekra village and forced the people to surrender the killer, but finally, after some persuasion, they were satisfied by an indemnity.

In the former days, however, such occurrences might evoke prolonged intertribal feuds. A Kre'pų'mkateye whom I knew was a little boy when his uncle was killed by the sorcery of another Timbira tribe, whose name was kept from me in view of my intimate contacts with most of the groups. The boy was trained to regard vengeance as an obligation, which he had discharged several years before my visit, killing two members of the guilty tribe (Krẽyé of Cajuapára) with the assistance of several of his tribesmen. This happened at least fifteen years after the uncle's death.

I have never seen the Rąmkõ'kamekra so incensed against Brazilian law as when I explained that the Government would not tolerate the execution of sorcerers. "What is to become of us then?" asked chief Kukrãčą'; the evil magicians will kill us all, by and by."

Missions

797 114 *Catholic.*—Notwithstanding Pohl's and Snethlage's statements, I can find not the slightest historical or ethnographic proof of the influence of Jesuit missionaries on any Timbira tribe. Demonstrably the Jesuits have never maintained a mission among any of them; and it is hardly to be supposed that they would have achieved as transients what the Capuchins failed to accomplish in the course of decades.

The first missionary who demonstrably concerned himself with the Eastern Timbira is the ecclesiastic mentioned by Ribeiro: